

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-07

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 /027 W

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R 161540Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4816

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BEIRUT 7609

LIMDIS

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PFOR, LE

SUBJECT: CALL ON PRESIDENT FRANGIE

REF SECSTATE 139946(NOTAL).

SUMMARY: PRESIDENT FRANGIE IS DEEPLY CONCERNED RE LOCAL POLITICAL SCENE. HE HOPES RACHID KARAME WILL SUCCEED BUT IS CURRENTLY NOT TOO OPTIMISTIC IF RIGHTIST PIERRE GEMAYEL AND LEFTIST KAMAL JUMBLATT MAINTAIN THEIR CURRENT POSITIONS, END SUMMARY.

1. HAD 45 MINUTE CONVERSATION AT NOON TODAY, JUNE 16, WITH PRESIDENT FRANGIE. HE SEEMED MUCH MORE ALERT THAN WHEN SENATOR FULBRIGHT CALLED ON HIM LAST FRIDAY, JUNE 13 (EMBTTEL 7540). PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER BOUTROS DIB SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMED ME THAT HE AND MRS. FRANGIE BOTH SPOKE TO THE PRESIDENT LAST FRIDAY AND ARRANGED A RESTFUL WEEKEND.

2. SUBSTANTIVE PORTION OF CONVERSATION BEGAN BY PRESIDENT'S INQUIRING AS TO MY IMPRESSIONS OF CURRENT LEBANESE POLITICAL SITUATION. TOLD HIM THAT I PERSONALLY WAS WORRIED ABOUT WHAT HAD BEEN DEVELOPING SINCE EARLY  
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APRIL. SEEMED TO ME THAT THE LEFT HAD GROWN MUCH

STRONGER AND THAT RECENT FIGHTING HAD RESULTED IN A COMMON FRONT BETWEEN PALESTINIAN REJECTIONIST ELEMENTS AND INDIGENOUS LEFTIST FORCES. THESE FOUND COMMON CAUSE AGAINST LEFTIST FORCES. THESE FOUND CAUSE AGAINST THE KATAEB AND LATTER CONSIDERED ITS POSITION JEOPARDIZED. I HAD ALSO BEEN INFORMED THAT THE IMAM MUSA SADR HAD LOST CONTROL OF CERTAIN LEFTIST SHI'A ELEMENTS. SAEB SALAAM NO LONGER CONTROLLED EFFECTIVELY THE BEIRUT "STREET" WHICH ALSO NOW LOOKED TO THE FAR LEFT FOR DIRECTION AND GUIDENCE. THIS RESULTED IN POLARIZATION. WITH THE KATAEB BECOMING EVER MORE HARD NOSED AND UNCOPROMISING I THEREFOR HOPED THAT PRESIDENT WOULD SUCCEED IN HIS EFFORTS TO GIVE THE COUNTRY A STRONG GOVERNMENT WHICH

COULD CREATE A CLIMATE FAVORABLE TO THE SOLUTION OF BASIC PROBLEMS I.E. BETWEEN MOSLEM AND CHRISTIAN. THE PLO AND THE GOL. I ALSO HOPED THAT SUCH A GOVERNMENT COULD TACKLE SOME OF THE BASIC SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY IMPLEMENTING EXISTING OR NEW PLANS FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SCHOOLS HOSPITALS. ETC. ESPECIALLY IN THE SOUTH.

3. PRESIDENT EXPRESSED APPRECIATION MY FRANKNESS. WITH WHICH HE SAID HE COULD FIND NO BASIC QUARREL,

THE TWO KEY ELEMENTS WERE KAMAL JUMBLATT AND PIERRE GEMAYEL AND AS LONG AS THEY MAINTAINED ADAMANTLY THEIR CURRENT POSITIONS. HE WAS PESSIMISTIC RE KARAME'S SUCCESS. (SUBSEQUENTLY IN DISCUSSING LOCAL POLITICAL SCENE. BOUTROS DIB SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT WAS QUITE AS PESSIMISTIC AS HE SOUNDED TO ME FOR HE. BOUTROS, HAD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE PRESIDENT THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE CURRENT IMPASSE LATE THIS WEEK OR EARLY NEXT WEEK.) PRESIDENT CONTINUED THAT THE MAN GIVING HIM THE MOST TROUBLE WAS JUMBLATT BY HIS RECENT MANEUVERS JUMBLATT HAD SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING SUNNI AGREEMENT THAT THE KATAEB SHOULD BE PUT INTO COVENTRY AND NOT PERMITTED A ROLE IN GOVERNMENT HE SAID WHAT WORRIED HIM, PERHAPS EVEN MORE WAS THE FACT THAT JUMBLATT HAD ALSO SUCCEEDED IN HAVING MOST NONACHRISTIAN LEBANESE CONSIDER

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THE ARMY A CHRISTIAN ESTABLISHMENT. THESE TWO DEVELOPMENTS ATTACKED THE VERY BASIS OF THE FRAGILE LEBANESE STRUCTURE. CONTINUING RE JUMBLATT, FRANGIE THOUGH HE HAD LOST TREMENDOUSLY WITH THE LEBANESE INTERLIGENTSIA. HE NEVERTHELESS GAINED WITH THE SUNNI MOSLEM LEFT BUT MANY OF THE LATTER OWED PRIMARY ALLEGIANCE TO LIBYAN DIRECTED AGITATORS IN THIS COUNTRY THE PRESIDENT RECOGNIZED THIS EVALUATION OF JUMBLATT'S

POSITION MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO GRASP, FOR HE DOES NOT CONSIDER THE LEFT TO BE AS MONOLITHIC AS I PRESENTED IT. IT IS COMPRISED, ACCORDING TO FRANGIE, NOT ONLY OF INDIGENOUS LEBANESE AND REJECTIONIST PALESTINAINS, BUT ALSO A CONFUSED GROUP OF PRO-LIBYANS, PRO-IRAQI BAATH AND RENEGADE SHI'AS WHILE JUMBLATT IS TRYING TO SPEAK FOR ALL OF THEM, FRNAGIE DOES NOT BELIEVE HE CONTROLS THEM AS MUCH AS HE WOULD LIKE TO.

4.FRANGIE SAID JUMBLATT DEFINITELY IS UNDER COMMUNIST INFLUENCE. HE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT SOVIETS WERE UP TO AND ASKED ME. TOLD HIM WHAT I KNEW ABOUT SOV AMB SOLDATOV AND INCREASE OF SOV AND CUBAN PERSONNEL. FRANGIE NODDED SAYING HE RECEIVED SOLDATOV A FEW WEEKS AGO BUT COULD GET NO INKING OF WAHT HE REALLY THOUGHT.FRANGIE IS ALSO SUSPICIOUS OF LARGE NUMBER OF CHICOMS HERE. I SAID I HAD NO INFO. IN CONCLUDING FRANGIE SAID HE WAS MOST CONCERNED REINFLUENCE SOVIETS AND LIBYANS ON LEBANESE SCENE. IRAQIS REALLY DIDN'T TROUBLE HIM FOR THEY HAD THEIR HANDS FILLED WITH SYRIANS.

5. I ASKED PRESIDENT RE LIBYA, THE DEPARTURE OF ITS AMBASSADOR AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH HE BELIEVED LIBYANS WERE INTERFERING IN LEBANESEINTERNAL POLITICS. HE NOTED THAT GOVERNOR OF THE CENTRAL BANK SARKIS HAD TOLD HIM THAT IN MAY OVER 35 MILLION DOLLARS HAD BEEN RECEIVED IN LEBABON FROM LIBYA. ALL OF THIS DID NOT GET TO THE "TROOPS" BUT A LOT DID, AND IT WAS CONTINUING AT APPROXIMATELY A MILLION DOLLARS A DAY. THE LIBYAN AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN RECALLED DUE TO A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIM AND HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH THE PRESIDENT COULD NOT DEFINE. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT FOR THE LAST MONTH OR

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SO THE LIBYAN HAS CHANGED HIS SLEEPING PLACE EVERY NIGHT AND WAS OBVOIUSLY FRIHTENED TO DEATH.

6 AT THIS POINT I MENTIONED TO THE PRESIDENT CONTENTS

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ACTION NEA-07

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 /027 W

----- 058181

R 161540Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4817

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BEIRUT 7609

LIMDIS

OF REFTTEL, SAYING THAT I DID NOT HAVE ANY FURTHER NEWS FROM WASHINGTON. HE VOLUNTEERED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED AN EXTREMELY OPTIMISTIC MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT SADAT ON HIS TALKS IN SALSBURG AND THAT SADAT THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE POSITIVE MOVEMENT WITHIN NEXT FEW WEEKS. ALTHOUGH THE LOCAL PRESS REPORTED THIS MORNING THAT L'ORIENT LE JOUR EDITOR GHASSAN TUENI, WHO SAW SADAT YESTERDAY, HAD INDICATED EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR TO LEBANON WOULD BE RETURNING TODAY FROM CAIRO WITH ANOTHER MESSAGE FROM SADAT, FRANGIE SAID HE HAD NOTHING TO CONFIRM OR DENY SUCH A REPORT. HE IS, HOWEVER, LOOKING FORWARD TO RECEIVING TUENI AND TO ASCERTAINING IN GREATER DETAIL SADAT'S CURRENT VIEWS.

7. WE ALSO DISCUSSED OTHER ARAB LEADERS AND I CONGRATULATED PRESIDENT ON WHAT APPEARED TO BE THE EXCELLENT RELATIONS HE HAD ESTABLISHED WITH THESE MEN. PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT HE WAS RATHER PROUD OF THIS ACHIEVEMENT, SPEAKING OF A FULL REPORT HE HAD RECEIVED FROM KING HUSSEIN ON HIS RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT ASAD. PART OF THESE TALKS CONCERNED THE PLO AND HUSSEIN HAD INDICATED A GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH ASAD RE FEDERATION OF JORDANIANS, SYRIANS AND PALESTINIANS. FRANGIE CONSIDERED THIS AN EXTREMELY CONSTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD REDUCE HIS PROBLEMS WITH ARAFAT.

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8. I TOLD PRESIDENT THAT SENATOR FULBRIGHT HAD BEEN FAVORABLY IMPRESSED WITH ARAFAT AND THE MODERATION HE EXPRESSED TOWARD THE END OF THEIR CONVERSATION. FRANGIE EMPHASIZED HIS VIEW THAT ARAFAT IS A MODERATE

AND SAID HE COULD "GUARANTEE" THAT AS OF THE MOMENT ARAFAT WOULD BE TOTALLY SATISFIED IF THE PALESTINIAN STATE COULD CONSIST OF THE GAZA STRIP AND THE WEST BANK AS IT EXISTED IN 1967. EVEN THE 1967 FRONTIERS COULD BE NEGOTIATED, FOR ARAFAT RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEM FOR ISRAEL IF THERE WERE PALESTINIAN TERRITORY WITHIN 13 MILES OF THE LOD AIRPORT.

9. OUR CONVERSATION ENDED WITH MY RAISING UNRWA AND ITS CURRENT FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES. THE PRESIDENT SHARED MY CONCERN BUT SAID HE WAS NOT HOPEFUL OF ARAB CONTRIBUTIONS. TWO YEARS AGO HE HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN BY TOP KUWAITI AND SAUDI LEADERS WHEN HE APPEALED FOR FUNDS. I BRIEFED HIM A BIT ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, PARTICULARLY SIR JOHN RENNIE'S CURRENT TRIP TO JIDDA AND HE SAID THIS WAS GOOD NEWS.

10. COMMENT: PRESIDENT IS AN EXTREMELY WORRIED MAN WHO DOES NOT SEE CLEARLY ANY SOLUTIONS TO HIS COUNTRY'S CURRENT IMPASSE. HE NEVERTHELESS WAS NOT BITTER, NOR VINDICTIVE AGAINST INDIVIDUALS, EXCEPT FOR JUMBLATT. HE IS OBVIOUSLY GROPING FOR SOLUTIONS AND WANTS HIS HAND HELD. INDICATIVE OF HIS CURRENT PREOCCUPATION WITH DOMESTIC PROBLEMS IS FACT HE NEVER ONCE DIRECTLY MENTIONED ISRAEL, NOTWITHSTANDING LAST TWENTY-FOUR HOUR CROSS-BORDER RAIDS.

1. I TOLD HIM I WOULD REPORT OUR CONVERSATION AND WOULD SEEK DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS. I FULLY REALIZE THAT LATTER MAY BE DIFFICULT. I WOULD SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT HE BE GIVEN SOMETHING RE THE SALZBURG TALKS AND THOSE WITH RABIN. JUST AN INDICATION OF CONTINUED PROGRESS AND RELATIVE OPTIMISM WOULD BE HELPFUL.  
GODLEY

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